United Nations S/PV.4052

# Security Council

Fifty-fourth Year

*Provisional*

## 4052nd Meeting

Friday, 15 October 1999, 12.40 p.m.
New York

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| *President:* | Mr. Lavrov | (Russian Federation) |
| *Members:* | Argentina | Mr. Petrella |
| | Bahrain | Mr. Al-Dosari |
| | Brazil | Mr. Fonseca |
| | Canada | Mr. Vamos-Goldman |
| | China | Mr. Shen Guofang |
| | France | Mr. Dejammet |
| | Gabon | Mr. Dangue Réwaka |
| | Gambia | Mr. Faal |
| | Malaysia | Mr. Hasmy |
| | Namibia | Mrs. Ashipala-Musavyi |
| | Netherlands | Mr. Hamer |
| | Slovenia | Mr. Žbogar |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Mr. Richmond |
| | United States of America | Ms. Soderberg |

## Agenda

The situation in Angola

Letter dated 11 August 1999 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1999/871)

99-86143 (E)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

*The meeting was called to order at 12.40 p.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in Angola**

**Letter dated 11 August 1999 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1999/871)**

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Angola, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Van Dunem "Mbinda" (Angola) took a seat at the Council table.*

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the letter dated 11 August 1999 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/1999/871.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1999/1061, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:*

Argentina, Bahrain, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Gabon, Gambia, Malaysia, Namibia, Netherlands, Russian Federation, Slovenia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1268 (1999).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council will remain seized of the matter.

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*

United Nations S/PV.4053

# Security Council
Fifty-fourth Year

*Provisional*

**4053**rd Meeting
Tuesday, 19 October 1999, 11 a.m.
New York

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| *President*: | Mr. Lavrov | (Russian Federation) |
| *Members*: | Argentina | Mr. Petrella |
| | Bahrain | Mr. Buallay |
| | Brazil | Mr. Fonseca |
| | Canada | Mr. Fowler |
| | China | Mr. Qin Huasun |
| | France | Mr. Dejammet |
| | Gabon | Mr. Moungara-Moussotsi |
| | Gambia | Mr. Faal |
| | Malaysia | Mr. Hasmy |
| | Namibia | Mr. Andjaba |
| | Netherlands | Mr. Hamer |
| | Slovenia | Mr. Türk |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir Jeremy Greenstock |
| | United States of America | Mr. Holbrooke |

## Agenda

The responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security

99-86161 (E)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

*The meeting was called to order at 11 a.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security**

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations. Members of the Council have before them document S/1999/1071, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

**Mr. Fonseca** (Brazil): Brazil welcomes your initiative, Mr. President, to convene this formal meeting of the Security Council to discuss the question of international terrorism and the threat it may represent to international peace and security. We are also thankful to your delegation for having proposed the draft resolution on which the Council is about to take action.

Since the issue of international terrorism was first brought before the General Assembly, in 1972, the international community has continuously worked on measures to combat this global scourge. In the 1994 Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism (General Assembly resolution 49/60) and in the 1996 Declaration to Supplement that Declaration (General Assembly resolution 51/210) all terrorist acts, methods and practices were categorically condemned irrespective of political, philosophical, ideological, ethnic or religious considerations.

Yet terrorism is a persistent phenomenon which requires the vigilant attention of the United Nations. Over the years we have created a network of interlocking conventions, nine in all, which seek to deal with the different facets of this wide-ranging problem. Brazil considers it extremely important that the General Assembly is continue to move ahead in forging further links in this network.

In this respect, Brazil supports the initiative on nuclear terrorism and welcomes the conclusion of negotiations on a convention for the suppression of the financing of terrorism. This draft convention is especially welcome as it deals with the complex and intricate transnational financial operations supporting terrorist activities, and paves the way for concerted action and close cooperation between law enforcement and financial authorities around the world.

Combating terrorism calls for coordinated initiatives and comprehensive strategies. This is especially true since terrorism tends increasingly to be accompanied by other scourges with grave consequences. Many of these issues have recently come under the scrutiny of the Security Council. The issue of small arms is one of them. There can be no doubt that so long as these weapons are freely traded, terrorists will find no difficulty in arming themselves.

The protection of civilians is another such issue. Just as we repudiate acts of violence against civilians in time of war, all the more must we roundly and strongly condemn terrorist attacks against the innocent and the defenceless.

Terrorist crimes related to drug trafficking, perhaps more than any others, underline the fact that terrorism is often difficult to distinguish from other forms of criminal activity. These groups benefit from powerful economic and financial resources with considerable potential for corrupting; they therefore offer a new and even more serious challenge to enforcement.

Terrorism is the antithesis of democracy. It abhors dialogue and has no respect for the opinions and lives of others. It thrives on fear and hatred, and preys on ignorance and prejudice. Terrorism must be resisted at all costs. Terrorists and their proxies must be given no quarter. Terrorism must be fought with skill, determination and effective legal means.

The roots of terrorism are a complex matter. No country in any part of the world has a guarantee that it will be free of the scourge of terrorist activities. One cannot ignore that terrorism often finds fertile ground amid civil strife and deprivation. So, while reaffirming our resolve to resist it, let us recognize that terrorism feeds also on despair and frustration, manipulating the anguish and sense of hopelessness of those left behind. These issues present challenges that go beyond interdiction and repression, no matter how crucial these may be. Our endeavours in the United Nations should therefore be guided by a broader, more comprehensive discussion on the root causes of terrorism.

We believe that the General Assembly should now begin consideration of a comprehensive convention on international terrorism, as called for in its resolution 53/108. This would not only provide a sound juridical framework for the application of existing conventions, but would also help us come to grips with a phenomenon that still eludes definition. We therefore welcome the proposal by India that discussion of such a convention be taken up shortly, as well as the Egyptian proposal that a high-level conference be convened in 2000 or immediately after.

We are aware that the central responsibility for addressing this issue lies with the General Assembly. We are keen that this should continue to be so. The Security Council may nevertheless bring an important contribution to our collective efforts to reinforce international cooperation in combating terrorism. The thrust and purpose of the draft resolution on which we are about to vote is precisely to support the work done by the General Assembly and other relevant bodies, and to issue an unequivocal condemnation of all acts of terrorism in all forms and manifestations and regardless of their motivation. The draft resolution also expresses the readiness of the Council to contribute its share to those international efforts, particularly with respect to international terrorist activities that may pose a threat to international peace and security.

This meeting of the Security Council is intended to send a powerful message that terrorism must be fought with determination, and also with hope: hope in the empowerment of civil society all over the world; hope in the establishment of a culture of human rights and tolerance for all; and hope in our collective will to bring about justice and prosperity for all.

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to my delegation.

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of Brazil for his kind words addressed to my delegation.

**Mr. Petrella** (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish first to express our appreciation to you, Mr. President, for your initiative in convening a formal meeting to discuss international terrorism. This question is closely related to that of civilian protection, which a few weeks ago was the subject of an open debate in the Council. We hope that this represents the starting point for greater participation by the Security Council in the fight against international terrorism.

As a consequence of the grave terrorist attack suffered by Buenos Aires in July 1994, Argentina turned to this organ, which agreed to consider the question in the framework of an informal meeting. On that occasion, our Foreign Minister expressed the conviction of the Argentine Government that the action of the United Nations in its struggle against terrorism should be as intense as that in the struggle against other grave international crimes, and appealed to the Security Council to include the question on its agenda. It seems to us that those ideas remain completely relevant today.

The work of the United Nations was for many years conditioned by the ideological confrontation of the cold war. This prevented both an unequivocal condemnation of international terrorism and the drawing up of drastic measures to combat it. The thrust of the new initiatives, facilitated by the present context, is an encouraging sign and augurs well for a more effective future response.

Terrorism is always criminal and unjustifiable, because it deliberately and indiscriminately attacks the civilian population. The terrorism that has afflicted the post-cold-war period is also increasingly linked to drug trafficking and other forms of organized crime. There has been a geometric increase in its transnational potential and its capacity to inflict lethal harm because of technological advances.

In recent years resolutions and agreements have been adopted at the United Nations reflecting the growing will of the international community to regard any terrorist act as a criminal act. Among other examples, in 1997 the Assembly adopted the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings. The resolutions and conventions adopted have outlined a range of concrete measures and norms that have encouraged judicial and police cooperation, criminalized many acts of terrorism and embodied the principle that all States have a duty to prosecute and punish those responsible.

In this respect, we wish to express our particular satisfaction at the conclusion last week of negotiations on the convention for the suppression of the financing of international terrorism. We congratulate the Government of France on this instrument, which we hope can be adopted during this session of the General Assembly.

My delegation is also prepared to contribute in every way possible to the conclusion of the draft convention submitted by the Russian Federation to suppress acts of nuclear terrorism.

These and other initiatives are of great importance. However, it is obvious that a great deal remains to be done, in particular to ensure the observance and effective implementation of all these measures. The Security Council, within the framework of its responsibilities, can and must play an important role in strengthening their practical application. This is shown by resolution 1267 (1999) adopted by the Council last Friday.

In this respect, it also seems to us necessary to take into account the attacks to which United Nations personnel have fallen victim. States must investigate these crimes, and the guilty must be prosecuted. For this reason, treatment of this issue by the Security Council must not be considered to be incompatible with the work done in other forums. Rather, it should be considered as a way of complementing and strengthening that work.

This meeting and the resolution which we will adopt contain a message that can be summarized in three points. First, all acts of terrorism are criminal and unjustifiable, regardless of their motivation. States must cooperate to combat them and to prosecute those responsible. Secondly, the Security Council recognizes that certain acts of terrorism, because of their nature and gravity, can threaten international peace. Thirdly, the United Nations, by its universal and global nature, is called upon to play a key role in combating international terrorism. Within the United Nations, the Security Council is prepared to assume its responsibilities in accordance with the Charter.

This is a clear political message, which Argentina supports.

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words addressed to my delegation.

**Mr. Türk** (Slovenia): Slovenia welcomes today's consideration of the issue of terrorism in the Security Council. About a year ago, in reaction to the devastating terrorist attacks in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, the Security Council adopted its resolution 1189 (1998) and emphasized its strong commitment to the combat against terrorism. Today the Council is expressing a more comprehensive view regarding this problem. My delegation is grateful to you, Mr. President, for the initiative, and to the delegation of the Russian Federation for the preparation of the draft resolution to be adopted today.

International terrorism has many manifestations and many sources. The multilateral efforts aimed at developing international cooperation to counter terrorism have a relatively long history. The League of Nations attempted to confront the challenge of individual or group terrorism by means of the 1937 Geneva Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism, which, unfortunately, never entered into force. But the dealings of the international community with the terrorist menace have, in the subsequent decades, given rise to a certain crystallization of the main policy elements for combating terrorism and formed a set of applicable principles and rules of international law.

Progressive development of international law is important. Thus, by virtue of their human rights guarantees, the Universal Declaration of Human rights and the two International Covenants from 1966 are, in essence, also anti-terrorism legal instruments in themselves. Furthermore, specific legal documents relating to the prevention and suppression of specific terrorist acts have been adopted. The existing conventions deal in particular with terrorist acts directed against civil aviation and maritime navigation and against internationally protected persons, as well as hostage-taking and the use of certain substances or devices for terrorist purposes.

In recent years terrorism has become one of the serious threats to individuals and Governments in many parts of the world. Since terrorist acts often, albeit not always, take place on an international scale, terrorism cannot effectively be combated by the isolated action of individual States. International cooperation and coordinated effort are essential elements of combating international terrorism. Apart from universal adherence to the 11 existing international counter-terrorism conventions, along with adherence to various legal instruments adopted at the regional level, new legal instruments are needed to counter specific forms and manifestations of terrorism. Slovenia welcomes the progress achieved on the draft convention on the suppression of terrorist financing, which will, hopefully, be adopted during the current, fifty-fourth session of the General Assembly. At the same time, we hope that the negotiations on the draft convention on the suppression of nuclear terrorism will move forward successfully.

Global action to prevent and suppress terrorist acts requires enhanced cooperation among States, especially through exchange of information, mutual legal assistance and cooperation among police forces. Furthermore, concerted cooperation is needed among international and regional organizations. The criminal nature of terrorist

acts, methods and practices, demands the prosecution and punishment of their perpetrators. To this end the basic legal standard, "extradite or prosecute", *aut dedere aut judicare*, should be respected in all cases. Moreover, all States should have a duty to refrain from supporting or acquiescing to activities directed towards the commission of terrorist acts, whatever the motives of their perpetrators.

The entire evolution of this matter since 1972 — that is, since the time when the United Nations started to deal with the problems of terrorism in a systematic manner — has confirmed the validity of an all-inclusive approach. As I have already said, to effectively combat terrorism requires the broadest possible international cooperation. The General Assembly provides the most genuine opportunity for Member States to participate in designing the platform for international cooperation against terrorism. The international conventions drafted by the General Assembly so far are of critical importance. They represent a genuine legislative achievement and a fine example of the implementation of the role of the General Assembly in the maintenance of international peace and security, as envisaged in Article 11 of the Charter of the United Nations.

All these aspects need to be borne in mind when we approach the question of the role of the Security Council in the international combat against terrorism. It is clear that the Security Council should not duplicate the work of the General Assembly. Therefore, the Council has pronounced its general views only a few times thus far, and with great care. This approach seems to be a wise guide for the future. The Security Council should be careful and should avoid creating any impression of departing from the path developed throughout the preceding decades by the General Assembly.

On the other hand, the Security Council should be able to identify those situations involving acts of terrorism that amount to threats to international peace and security, and to act accordingly. This is a difficult task, because the scale of violence and the immediate effects of terrorist acts do not necessarily suggest the existence of such a threat. Furthermore, the responsibility for terrorist acts may be difficult to establish, and it may be difficult to reach agreement as to the most effective and appropriate response. All these problems are inherent in the effort to address the issues of terrorism through Security Council action. The Security Council has addressed issues of terrorism in the Lockerbie and UTA cases, and, more recently, in its dealings with the situation in Afghanistan. The experience gained is varied and important, and could help the Security Council in its future decision-making.

When terrorist acts reach proportions, or have effects, that make them comparable with the use of force prohibited by the Charter of the United Nations, the question of lawful countermeasures may arise. In such situations, available options should be considered on the basis of the criteria established in international law, including those of necessity and proportionality of response. Careful consideration should be given to the question of which type of response is necessary and to the need to respond in a proportionate manner with means which are chosen wisely.

The draft resolution to be adopted today sums up the experience gained in United Nations actions against terrorism. It adds an important role for the Secretary-General, who will be requested to pay special attention to the need to prevent and fight the threat to international peace and security as a result of terrorist activities. There is no doubt that the Secretary-General will exercise his judgement with full appreciation of the seriousness of the problem and of the experience the United Nations has gained thus far. My delegation is convinced that cooperation among all United Nations Member States will be developed further, and that such an evolution will enhance the effectiveness of the international struggle against terrorism.

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of Slovenia for the kind words he addressed to me.

**Mr. Fowler** (Canada) (*spoke in French*): I commended you, Sir, for providing us with this opportunity to address international terrorism, a tangible threat to international peace and security that defies basic standards of human behaviour. Today's discussion, coming on the heels of our resolute action last week to bring an alleged major international terrorist to account, is an important signal of the Council's engagement on this issue. The Security Council can and must be a part of international efforts to fight terrorism.

Terrorism cuts across national borders. While Governments are often targets, more often civilians are the victims. The common thread is the subordination of human life to terrorism's objectives. No country has been spared. Countless innocents have been injured or killed; essential services have been disrupted; and property, both private and public, has been destroyed.

We recall with horror recent terrorist attacks in the Russian Federation in which entire apartment buildings were destroyed and hundreds of their inhabitants murdered. We recall the murderous bombings of the embassies of the United States of America in Kenya and Tanzania in the summer of last year. The list is, of course, much longer. Canada itself has not been immune from terrorism: many of the 329 passengers who perished in 1985 on Air India flight 182 were Canadian. There is no justification for such acts, and no concession can be made to those who commit them.

*(spoke in English)*

In various regional and multilateral forums, including the United Nations, we have agreed on important principles in the fight against terrorism: the denial of support and sanctuary for terrorists; the establishment of an international legal network against terrorism through universal adherence to the international conventions against terrorism; and international cooperation and coordination at the policy and practical levels. Other important measures are outlined in various General Assembly resolutions. In Paris in 1996 the G-8 made 25 specific recommendations, and it subsequently adopted additional measures in Birmingham in 1998 aimed at reducing and controlling the terrorist scourge.

The United Nations has taken further steps, with the adoption of the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings. And only a few weeks ago a working group of the General Assembly elaborated a convention to prevent the financing of terrorist acts. Canada supports its adoption at this session of the General Assembly and also supports the early adoption of the convention against acts of nuclear terrorism — initiated, Mr. President, by your delegation. Once adopted, these conventions, along with the 11 existing international counter-terrorism conventions, will go a long way towards implementing a strong "extradite or prosecute" regime for acts of terrorism, and thereby eliminate refuge for their perpetrators anywhere in the world.

New terrorist threats continue to emerge. The Internet; global communications systems; the interconnected networks that provide electricity, telecommunications and water to our homes and that enable our infrastructure to function and keep our aircraft safe — all are vulnerable to attacks. Cyberterrorism and malicious hacking must also be addressed. On quite another level, the threat of the use of weapons of mass destruction by terrorists remains acute. States must be ever more vigilant in denying terrorists access to such material and attendant delivery systems.

The multiplicity of international efforts to fight terrorism reflects the importance that the international community attaches to this issue. Our citizens expect no less. They also expect that strong action against terrorism will be consistent with broader commitments to human rights and the rule of law. By respecting these principles, the institutions entrusted to fight terrorism will attract public support and deny terrorists the sympathy and the support they crave. Protection of the innocent is, after all, at the centre of this fight.

The Security Council has demonstrated the resolve to play its part in the fight against terrorism, whether in the Lockerbie case or, most recently, with regard to Osama Bin Laden. Canada welcomes the inclusion of terrorism in the Council's definition of what constitutes a threat to peace and security. It is a recognition of a broad concept of security which encompasses threats against people as well as those against States and, as such, is an important contribution to human security.

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of Canada for his kinds words addressed to my country.

**Mr. Hamer** (Netherlands): Like other delegations that have spoken before us, the Netherlands welcomes this opportunity to discuss the threat to international peace and security posed by international terrorism.

Terrorism is one of the most pressing concerns of the international community. It is neither new nor limited to any particular region of the world. We have almost come to expect the periodic shock and horror of the latest terrorist attack after decades of Red Army Faction, Irish Republican Army and Red Brigade terror all over Europe; Lockerbie; the bombing of the World Trade Center here in New York; the bombing of embassies in Tanzania and Kenya; and, more recently, the spate of bombings which rocked residential buildings in Moscow and elsewhere in Russia.

What is new are the degree of sophistication of terrorist acts and terrorism's increasingly globalized character. The enormous financial gains from illicit transactions, the abundant availability of small arms and the most sophisticated weaponry alike, as well as easy access to technology all help to create an ever more dangerous type of terrorist. Extensive international

networks of organized criminals are creating an infrastructure of so-called catastrophic terrorism that poses a threat to international peace and security. Moreover, the establishment of transnational criminal organizations tends to hinder law and order, especially in those countries where a structured governmental organization is no longer in place. These so-called failed States are particularly vulnerable to pressure and bribery from powerful criminal cartels. Their citizens often end up the helpless victims of violence.

The Netherlands Government unequivocally condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, whatever its motives and origins, wherever and by whomsoever committed. The Netherlands continues to stand ready to fight terrorists, apprehend them wherever and whenever possible and bring them to justice. We extend our heartfelt sympathy to countries and individual victims and their families who have suffered from the arbitrary and mindless violence of terrorist acts.

We recognize that the struggle against terrorism may require more than political, diplomatic and legal means. Inevitably, harsher means are sometimes needed. However, in those cases where the official use of violence is indispensable, it must be proportionate and limited to the requirements of the maintenance of public order. Innocent civilians may under no circumstances become the indiscriminate victims of violence aimed at terrorists.

States have a special responsibility and a moral duty to uphold the law, including international humanitarian and human rights law. International terrorism can and must be combatted effectively and decisively within the framework of the law. To fight evil with evil would only work to the advantage of terrorists and eventually lead to the erosion of societies and of much-needed international cooperation.

As for the United Nations, international terrorism has been on the agenda of the General Assembly since 1972. A number of important international conventions have been adopted and two are presently under consideration. This sectoral approach, in our view, is the most appropriate way — and in fact the only practical way — for our Organization to address the issue. The Netherlands will continue to make an active contribution to this important work.

**Mr. Holbrooke** (United States of America): Thank you, Mr. President, for holding today's important meeting. Your Government should be commended highly for pursuing this important initiative. In this regard, allow me also to express my own Government's firm support for the Security Council draft resolution before us this morning.

The United States policy on terrorism is clear and it is simple. Terrorism is a criminal activity regardless of the circumstances or reason. There are no mitigating factors. There are no questions. We do not tolerate it and we will continue to pursue its perpetrators until they are brought to justice. This was the case in the Lockerbie bombing. It is the case with those responsible for the bombings of our embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. We will continue to pursue, arrest and prosecute those responsible for these crimes.

When President Clinton used his General Assembly address last year to focus attention on terrorism, he was underscoring our nation's commitment to addressing fully and effectively this threat to civilized people everywhere. When Secretary Albright recently designated 28 groups as foreign terrorist organizations, she was demonstrating the United States resolve to confront terrorism wherever and whenever it rears its head. And when my delegation introduced a resolution to impose tough sanctions on the Taliban, in favour of which all 15 members of the Security Council voted, to our great gratification, we were demonstrating anew our determination to go after the supporters of international terrorists as well.

It is incumbent upon all of us in the community of nations to stand together and to stand strong. We must be relentless in our pursuit, using all means necessary to combat terrorists and their supporters, and we must continue to work together here and elsewhere to this end.

Last week's unanimous Security Council action against the Taliban was a significant example of what can be achieved when we work in such a spirit. Next, the United States believes we should move forward on the initiative of France regarding a new convention for the suppression of terrorist financing - a convention we hope will be adopted by the General Assembly in December. And we urge all Members that have not already done so to become party to the existing 11 international conventions against terrorism.

Despite the progress made to date, international terrorism has shown no sign of letting up. All of us have a stake in this fight and all of us have a responsibility to act accordingly. Despite the risks involved, we must summon the political courage to address this threat at home and abroad.

Again, I thank you, Sir, for calling this important meeting to discuss how we can stop innocent lives from being lost, innocent families from being torn apart.

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of the United States for his kind words addressed to my Government.

**Mr. Dejammet** (France) (*spoke in French*): Acts of terrorism can constitute a threat to international peace and security. This is recalled in the draft resolution submitted today at your initiative, Mr. President, for a vote by the Council. And this is what the General Assembly solemnly affirmed in 1994 in the Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, adopted in its resolution 49/60. It is therefore quite legitimate for the Security Council, which bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take a stand in the fight against terrorism.

This is not the first time that the Council has taken a stand on this subject or some of its aspects. In 1970 the Council adopted resolution 286 (1970), on aerial hijacking. In 1985 it adopted resolution 579 (1985), on hostage-taking. In 1989 it adopted resolution 635 (1989), on illegal acts against the security of civil aviation, and resolution 638 (1989), adopted on kidnapping and hostage-taking. We also recall the statement adopted on 31 January 1992, on the initiative of the United Kingdom, when the Security Council met at the level of heads of State or Government. That statement affirmed the need for the international community to respond effectively to international terrorist acts. The Council then had the opportunity to respond to such acts on several occasions, in particular last year, in Security Council resolution 1189 (1998), through which the Council condemned the attacks in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. The adoption of so many resolutions and statements shows the continuing support of the Security Council for the fight against international terrorism.

The draft resolution before us today is not designed to have the Security Council replace the General Assembly in its role, of defining the principles that must guide the fight against terrorism. On the contrary: the Council endorses the principles that were forcefully formulated by the General Assembly on 9 December 1994 and the Declaration adopted in General Assembly resolution 49/60. These principles are based on the categorical condemnation of all terrorist acts, wherever they may take place, whoever the perpetrators may be and whatever their motives may be. As the Assembly stated in 1994, this condemnation must, in particular, lead States to refrain from organizing or supporting terrorist activities; to arrest, bring to justice or extradite those who commit such acts; to conclude agreements and to cooperate to that end; to implement the conventions to which they are parties; and not to grant asylum to the perpetrators of terrorist acts.

The draft resolution before us also welcomes the work done by the Assembly in drawing up new instruments and conventions in this area and encourages the adoption of conventions already in preparation. We hope that the Assembly will continue its work, in particular, by adopting before the end of the year the convention on the suppression of nuclear terrorism and the convention on the suppression of the financing of terrorism, whose text has just been transmitted by the Working Group to the Sixth Committee.

The fight against financing terrorism is indeed a priority objective of the fight against international terrorism, as the Secretary-General noted in a 1996 report to the General Assembly. The power, the possibilities for expansion and the destructive capacity of terrorist organizations to a great extent depend on their means of financing. The adoption by the General Assembly of the convention on the suppression of the financing of terrorism will reaffirm the will of the international community to deprive terrorist organizations of their resources and to fight terrorism in all its forms.

The French delegation believes that by taking a stand on an issue that affects the maintenance of international peace and security, by confirming the pivotal role played by the United Nations and by supporting the action of the General Assembly in this area, the Security Council will be making a useful contribution. This is why it will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

**Sir Jeremy Greenstock** (United Kingdom): Acts of terrorism kill, injure or intimidate many hundreds of innocent men, women and children each year. But they do more than that. Terrorist acts, by their indiscriminate nature, their defiant rejection of the norms of civilized behaviour and their challenge to the rule of law constitute a challenge to the authority of those States on whose territory they are committed and a threat to the wider peace and security of the international system. The Council has addressed a number of terrorist outrages in the past, not least the tragedy of Lockerbie, the bombing of the United States Embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi and, most recently, the presence of Usama bin

Laden in Afghanistan. But we welcome this initiative to address the problem of international terrorism in a comprehensive fashion.

Terrorism is condemned by all States, each in its own way. But the draft resolution before us today is right to note that such condemnation, to be effective and credible, cannot in any way be equivocal or selective. All acts of terrorism, wherever they take place and whoever commits them, must be unequivocally condemned, regardless of the motive behind them. Sadly, not all members of the international community appear ready to accept this principle; and it is right that the Council should reiterate it firmly in this draft resolution. Unanimous adoption of the draft resolution will send a firm message that the international community distances itself from those who attempt to argue that terrorist methods may be justified in certain circumstances because of the nature of the cause.

As Governments we are bound by the rule of law and our international obligations. Those who practise terrorism, a brutally indiscriminate and cowardly crime, claim a special status outside the reach of the rule of law. Over the past 36 years, the Member States of the United Nations have decided to oppose that claim in a variety of ways, not least by carefully negotiating 11 international anti-terrorism conventions, which cover such acts as hijacking of aircraft and shipping, hostage-taking and the illegal use of explosives. The United Kingdom has ratified 10 of those conventions, and signed the eleventh, the terrorist bombing Convention, on the day it was opened for signature here in New York.

Taken together, these Conventions represent a body of international law which lays the foundation of the international community's response to terrorism. As well as providing a framework for cooperation between States, they are a key tool by which terrorists may be brought to justice. The Conventions establish an international legal regime, based on the principle of universal jurisdiction, which imposes on States parties the requirement to prosecute or extradite suspected terrorists. It is essential, as the five permanent members of the Security Council reiterated in their statement of 23 September, to deny terrorists safe havens. There can be no hiding place for terrorists, no place where they can feel secure or beyond the reach of the law. As the draft resolution before us makes clear, it is important for all Member States to become parties to these conventions, in order to turn the regime which we have created into a universal one.

The draft resolution before us rightly draws attention to the key role of the United Nations in strengthening international cooperation against terrorism and promoting enhanced coordination among States and within international and regional organizations. In this regard, the United Kingdom is pleased that the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly will soon consider the text of a new draft convention on the suppression of terrorist financing, agreed in its working group on terrorism. We are indebted in particular to the Government of France for its skill in bringing this work to fruition. Terrorists are increasingly well-funded and adept at transferring funds across borders. Speedy adoption of this new convention will be an important step forward. Similarly, the pending convention against acts of nuclear terrorism must be finalized as quickly as possible.

I am grateful to the Russian Federation for taking the lead on this subject at this time. By rejecting peaceful methods and choosing violence, or the threat of violence, to further their aims, terrorists fly in the face of the purposes and principles of the United Nations set out in the Charter. We must move beyond the mere condemnation of terrorism, important as that is, and take up the urgent task of finding practical ways to combat the continuing threat. Adoption of this draft resolution will demonstrate that we mean business.

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to my delegation.

**Mr. Qin Huasun** (China)(*spoke in Chinese*): First of all, we would like to thank the delegation of the Russian Federation for preparing the draft resolution before us. In recent years, international terrorist activities have become increasingly rampant, taking a heavy toll on the life and property of innocent civilians and posing a grave threat to international peace and security.

Intensifying efforts to combat international terrorism is therefore in the general interest of the international community. In this context, the relevant United Nations bodies, including the Security Council, should give full attention to this issue and play their respective parts as and when appropriate.

More often than not, terrorist activities in recent years have assumed a transnational character; accordingly, intensified international cooperation in this area and multidimensional actions targeting the various manifestations of international terrorism have now

become indispensable conditions for an effective crackdown on terrorism. Therefore, we call upon countries around the world to offer meaningful, speedy and effective cooperation in the fight against terrorism.

Under the auspices of the United Nations, a number of international anti-terrorist conventions have been concluded. These should be earnestly and effectively implemented. We understand that the Ad Hoc Committee established by General Assembly resolution 51/210 of 17 December 1996 has completed work on the draft international convention for the suppression of terrorist financing put forward by France. We hope that all sides will step up their efforts in a pragmatic and cooperative spirit to ensure the early adoption by the General Assembly of this convention and the international convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism.

We believe that the draft resolution before us comprehensively reflects the various aspects of the fight against terrorism and is of great relevance for enhancing international cooperation in anti-terrorist activities. In view of all this, China supports the draft resolution.

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to my delegation.

**Mr. Hasmy** (Malaysia): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, and the Russian delegation for initiating this formal meeting of the Security Council on the subject of international terrorism. This meeting is a reflection of the Council's serious concern about the increasing acts of terrorism around the world, which have claimed many innocent lives and caused so much destruction to property.

Because of the complex nature of terrorism, there has been no international consensus on a definitive definition of the term "terrorism". However, semantics aside, there is no disagreement on the pernicious effects of terrorism, which causes death, injuries and destruction to innocent civilians and their property. This must be condemned in the strongest terms by the international community. Whatever the motivations of these terrorists, their actions cannot be justified or rationalized away and must be resisted with the determined and collective will of all civilized societies. This meeting of the Council is a manifestation of this determination and will.

Terrorism should be dealt with by the international community with the severity it deserves. But it should also be dealt with in a fair and objective manner. In this regard, it is unfortunate that terrorism is sometimes associated or identified with a particular group or groups of people. We do not believe this stereotyping of terrorism is a constructive way of creating a real understanding of the subject and of combating the menace. Indeed, it creates an opposite effect — a misunderstanding among peoples — and hampers cooperation among nations in dealing with the problem. The media, including the influential entertainment media, have a particular role and responsibility in this regard.

Terrorism must be recognized for what it is: deliberate acts of violence with the intent to hurt, kill or destroy innocent civilians, without scruples or mercy, for purposes of coercion and intimidation, and serving the particular objectives of the terrorists. These actions may have been motivated or inspired by "higher principles", but their commission in a cruel, ruthless manner against innocent, defenceless civilians robs these acts of any redeeming quality and must therefore be strongly condemned. These acts have nothing to do with, nor do they reflect, value systems of a particular group or groups of people. They are acts of terrorism, pure and simple. They could be committed by any other groups in the misguided belief that terror is a justifiable instrument of political action.

Terrorism is usually transboundary in character, and therefore international. It poses a serious and complex security challenge to the international community because of its ability to create fear and intimidation, striking with impunity wherever and whenever it chooses. To such terrorists the entire world is a theatre of operation. Malaysia condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and makes no excuses for them, whatever the motivations of its perpetrators, when innocent civilians are deliberately targeted as victims. That these acts may be of a political character does not make them less reprehensible.

While Malaysia is against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, my delegation would like to recall the Declaration on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations, whose operative paragraph 1 reaffirmed

> "the right of self-determination of all peoples, taking into account the particular situation of peoples under colonial or other forms of alien domination or foreign occupation, and [recognized] the right of peoples to take legitimate action in accordance with the

Charter of the United Nations to realize their inalienable right of self-determination".

Therefore, it is pertinent that in defining the term "terrorism", it must be differentiated from the legitimate struggle of peoples under colonial or alien domination and foreign occupation for self-determination and national liberation, a process that many of the Member States of this Organization have gone through themselves. However, this does not justify the use of terrorist methods by any group.

Malaysia also fully endorses the position of the Non-Aligned Movement, enunciated in the Durban Declaration, that there is a need for international cooperation to combat terrorism, and that this cooperation should be conducted in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter, international law and the relevant international conventions. An important aspect of these international principles and norms, of course, would be respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, which is the very foundation of the United Nations. It is important that all actions taken to prevent and suppress terrorism should be predicated on the strict observance of these principles and norms and are themselves lawful in nature. This is imperative if the authorities of State security do not wish to descend to the level of the terrorists themselves, for whom the ends justify the means.

In this regard, I am grateful to the Permanent Representative of Slovenia for having raised, *inter alia*, the notion of proportionate response, which, in our view, is an important concept to be borne in mind as Governments grapple with the terrorist menace.

Malaysia strongly believes in the need for internationally coordinated efforts, including strong enforcement measures to combat the menace of terrorism. We are gratified that there is increasing international cooperation and coordination on this issue, and we welcome the fact that many Member States have taken robust and necessary measures to combat this scourge. For its part, Malaysia has taken similar measures and has ratified a number of international legal instruments relating to terrorism. We are in the process of doing the same in respect of the remaining instruments so that we can play our full part in the global campaign against the menace.

My delegation supports the draft resolution before us. We firmly believe that the Security Council should make its definitive pronouncement on the issue of terrorism, which affects international peace and security, and we commend the work in this regard and which is currently being discussed in the General Assembly.

**The President** *(spoke in Russian):* I thank the representative of Malaysia for the kind words he addressed to my delegation.

**Mr. Moungara-Moussotsi** (Gabon) *(spoke in French):* My delegation is delighted to see you, Sir, presiding over this formal meeting on the question of terrorism, bearing in mind your country's contribution to the cause of peace in the world and, in particular, to the elimination of terrorism.

When in June 1995 dangerous individuals made an attempt on the life of an illustrious African head of State who was attending a summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa, my delegation condemned that attack. When in August 1998 wanton criminals took the precious lives of American diplomats and peaceful Kenyan and Tanzanian citizens in unjustified, indiscriminate terrorist attacks, the delegation of Gabon joined other members of the Council in condemning those odious acts forcefully and without reservation.

Similarly, we have denounced and condemned all other such attacks that have taken place in the past, including those recently suffered by the Russian people.

At this time, my delegation wishes once again to emphasize its condemnation of terrorism, whatever its source, wherever it is committed and whatever its motivations.

Terrorism is a violation of human rights, a threat to the public freedoms that reign in a State of law and establishes an atmosphere of psychosis, fear and terror among the peoples who are its victims.

I have already mentioned acts that took American and Russian lives, but the peoples of France and other friendly countries have also been struck by these odious crimes — crimes in which women and children have been killed or mutilated or have suffered various forms of lifelong incapacitation.

The links that exist between many terrorist organizations and other criminal groups that are involved in the illicit traffic of drugs and weapons should prompt countries to extend cooperation and coordination in the fight to eliminate the phenomenon of terrorism.

We are therefore gratified to see this item on the agenda of the Sixth Committee every year.

For their part, the countries of Africa, at the summit held in Algiers last July, adopted the Organization of African Unity convention on the prevention of and fight against terrorism. This is our continent's contribution to the elimination of the abomination that is terrorism.

For this reason, my delegation will raise its hand high to vote in favour of the draft resolution so carefully prepared and submitted by the delegation of the Russian Federation.

**The President** *(spoke in Russian)*: I thank the representative of Gabon for the kind words he addressed to my country.

**Mr. Buallay** (Bahrain) *(spoke in Arabic)*: Allow me at the outset, Mr. President, to express my sincere thanks to you and to your delegation for your initiative to include the question of terrorism on our agenda for this month, as well as for the preparation of the draft resolution that aims at drawing the attention of world public opinion to the gravity of the phenomenon of terrorism, which has spread to many countries and has become a threat to international peace and security.

The first things that come to mind when dealing with the question of terrorism are who stands behind and supports acts of terrorism ... and who provides terrorists with money, weapons and safe havens.

What we are dealing with at this time are acts of violence carried out indiscriminately by certain groups against a country, from outside or from within, against civilians or civilian targets, with the aim of causing fear and intimidation among innocent civilians and creating an atmosphere of chaos in order to destabilize that country and threaten its security. Acts of terrorism could not continue to be perpetrated without outside support, whether by individuals, groups or States. The worst form of that support is States' provision of safe havens for terrorists, as well as the means of communication necessary to spread their destructive thoughts and to instigate the commission of acts of terrorism.

The international community must tighten the noose around terrorists, wherever they may be, by depriving them of safe havens and of the necessary financing, especially since they exploit the principles of human rights and international humanitarian law by hiding behind it in order to acquire refugee status.

There is another form of terrorism that is no less grave than terrorism perpetrated by individuals: State terrorism. This is what we witnessed during the Balkan war, as well as in Kosovo. The occupied Arab territories in Palestine, Syria and southern Lebanon witness many forms of such State terrorism, as exemplified by Israel's demolition of the homes of Palestinian citizens, the usurpation of their land resources and the denial of their freedoms and basic rights. Therefore, we urge for the sake of justice that the peace process should move at a much faster pace than is currently the case, on the basis of land for peace and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, in order to achieve a just and fair peace.

The international community should establish the necessary legal instruments to cover all aspects relating to combating terrorism, and this should include the provision of a clear, precise definition of the concept of terrorism. This could constitute an important and new starting point to combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

In this regard, my country supports the convening of an international conference on the definition of terrorism and the establishment of machinery through which States can cooperate in exchanging information relevant to combating terrorism. Bahrain is convinced that there is a need to arrive at an understanding among States on the strengthening of the principle of the extradition of those suspected of acts of terrorism.

My delegation believes that there is a need for comprehensive, integrated cooperation between States in the field of legal and juridical assistance. There is also a need for international cooperation to arrive at a unified understanding of political asylum and not to allow terrorists to take advantage of the opportunities that this principle provides to find safe haven.

My country believes in the positive role that can be played by various media in exposing terrorists. The State of Bahrain supports that role and believes it should have the continuous support and encouragement of Governments.

Bahrain believes that there is a need for wider international understanding of the concept of the

protection of human rights, which is used by terrorists as a pretext to achieve their objectives.

The promotion of the concept of national sovereignty and the maintenance of security and stability for peoples are basic concerns that should compel members of the international community to intensify their cooperation in combating terrorism. Furthermore, the concept of peoples' right to self-determination and to resist foreign occupation — which has been endorsed by the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly — must not be equated with the concept of overthrowing legitimate Governments in order to assume power.

Finally, the various working groups mandated by relevant General Assembly resolutions to draft conventions to combat terrorism constitute a powerful instrument for countries to use in codifying their efforts in this regard.

It is for all these considerations that my delegation supports and will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council.

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of Bahrain for his kind words addressed to my delegation.

**Mr. Andjaba** (Namibia): My delegation commends you, Sir, and your delegation for convening this meeting on this very important subject of terrorism, and for the draft resolution before us.

The wheel of time is bringing us closer to the entry into the third millennium. Against the backdrop of this historic benchmark, we believe that humankind will have to fight relentlessly against terrorism. For many years, humanity was haunted by terrorism, which has acquired many definitions at every turn during its long history. Whatever the meaning to different generations and peoples, terrorism has brought about human tragedy of unparalleled magnitude to innocent and unsuspecting ordinary citizens, culminating in tragic loss of life, fear, panic and destruction of property.

Terrorists bury themselves within their surrounding communities, indistinguishable from ordinary law-abiding citizens. At the appropriate moment they emerge from the shadows to strike, before disappearing back into anonymity.

Terrorism undermines the confidence in a Government's ability to maintain law and order by sowing fear among the citizens. In turn, the Government imposes a harsh regimen of security measures, including states of emergency, curfews and a daily routine of road blocks, snap-checks and cordon-and-search operations, which are sometimes repressive counter-measures that Governments are forced into in order to protect their citizens from terrorism.

Namibia attaches great importance to the United Nations declarations of 1994 and 1996 on measures to eliminate international terrorism, and other measures adopted by the United Nations on this matter. The adoption of this draft resolution will therefore contribute to the ongoing effort to eliminate terrorism.

We condemn all acts of terrorism regardless of their motivation, manifestations, perpetrator or victim. In finalizing pending conventions, therefore, we must make sure that all those who commit acts of terrorism are properly covered. To put it simply, no exemption should be entertained in the war against terrorism.

Against this background, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of Namibia for his kind words addressed to my delegation.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the Russian Federation.

We should like to express our sincere gratitude to all members of the Security Council for supporting the Russian initiative to hold today's meeting, as well as for the words of sympathy and solidarity we have heard in this room in connection with the recent terrorist acts in Russia. The Russian leadership and the Russian people value this support very highly.

Russia has taken the initiative to convene today's meeting of the Security Council guided by an awareness of the global threat inherent in terrorism. The inhuman terrorist acts that claim as victims hundreds of innocent people in various countries of the world, the taking of hostages and attacks against United Nations personnel and the emergence of cross-border channels for the training and financing of terrorist acts convince us of the need to strengthen an uncompromising struggle against this evil.

Our principled approaches to counteracting terrorism in any of its forms and manifestations have been stated

on numerous occasions by the Russian leadership and were confirmed by the statement made during the fifty-fourth session of the General Assembly by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Russia, Mr. Igor Ivanov. We are convinced that combating terrorism effectively can only be done jointly and on the solid foundation of international law.

The United Nations deserves historical recognition for its condemnation of terrorism and for establishing global interaction to eradicate it. Work is continuing under the aegis of the United Nations to build up joint anti-terrorist potential, including the establishment of a universal treaty system for this purpose. Among the most recent achievements of the United Nations is the adoption in 1997 of the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings. Work is being concluded to agree upon a convention to combat acts of nuclear terrorism and to counteract the financing of terrorist activities.

In conditions when terrorism is becoming a serious challenge to international peace and security, the Security Council is called on to be actively involved in the anti-terrorist efforts of the international community, not by replacing the General Assembly and other United Nations organs but by interacting with them on the basis of its competencies under the Charter.

The draft resolution to be adopted today by the Council is a kind of anti-terrorist manifesto defining high-priority areas for such interaction. Among them is the universalization of multilateral conventions to combat terrorism, the coordination of the actions of States and multilateral and regional organizations, mutual assistance to protect citizens, to prevent and halt terrorist acts and to investigate them and bring to justice their perpetrators and those guilty of the preparations and financing for such acts. It is inadmissible to provide terrorists with asylum — the ground should be burning under their feet wherever they go.

The draft resolution declares the firm intention of the Security Council to create durable safeguards against the threats to peace and security emanating from terrorism. In his annual reports to the General Assembly on measures to combat terrorism, the Secretary-General will be devoting particular attention to such threats and the Security Council, in accordance with its mandate, is undertaking a commitment to take the necessary measures on that basis to counteract terrorist challenges.

The adoption of this draft resolution will make a tangible contribution to the establishment of a united front to fight international terrorism under the aegis of the United Nations.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/1999/1071) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:*

Argentina, Bahrain, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Gabon, Gambia, Malaysia, Namibia, Netherlands, Russian Federation, Slovenia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

**The President** (*spoke in Russian*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1269 (1999).

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.*